

TENTH  
ANNUAL REPORT

— OF THE —

Hawaiian Historical Society

— FOR —

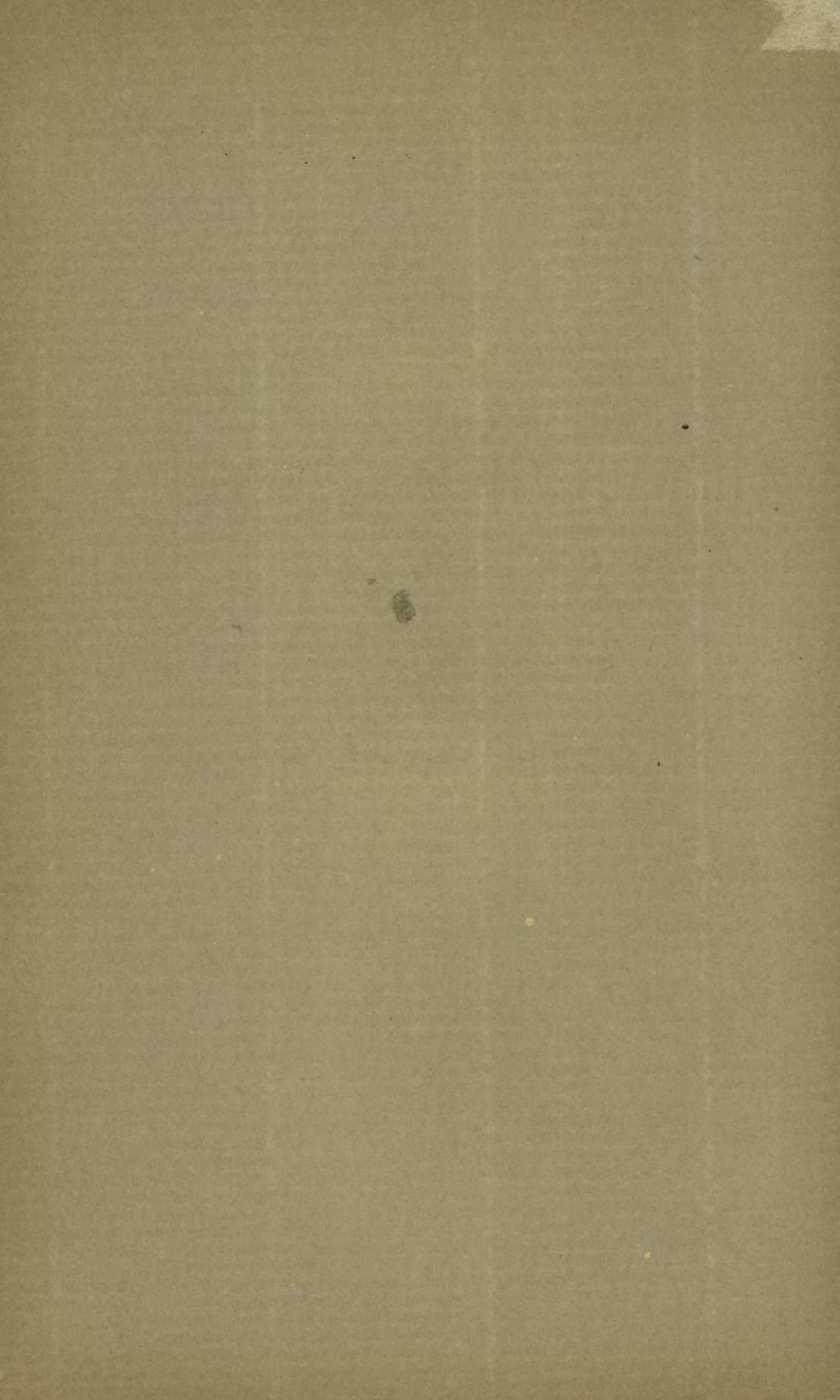
THE YEAR 1903  
WITH PAPERS.



HONOLULU, H. T.

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HONOLULU, T. H.  
HAWAIIAN GAZETTE COMPANY, LTD.  
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## OFFICERS 1903.

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President .....	Dr. N. B. Emerson
1st Vice-President.....	Hon. S. B. Dole
2nd Vice-President.....	J. S. Emerson
3rd Vice-President.....	W. F. Allen
Recording Secretary .....	Hon. W. F. Frear
Corresponding Secretary .....	Prof. W. D. Alexander
Treasurer and Librarian.....	Miss M. A. Burbank

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MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HELD JANU-  
ARY 12, 1903.

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The annual meeting of the Society was held at the Y. M. C. A. Hall at 7:30 p. m., January 12, 1903, the President, Dr. N. B. Emerson, in the chair.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The following were elected members of the Society on the recommendation of the Board of Managers:

Corresponding members: Dr. Titus Munson Coan, of New York; Dr. Anton Blomberg of Stockholm, Sweden, and Comthur Milan Paul Iovanovic, of Austria.

Active members: A. S. Hartwell, Ed. Towse, L. D. Timmons and Edgar Henriques.

Reports for the year were then read by the Treasurer and Librarian, Miss M. A. Burbank, and by the Corresponding Secretary, Prof. W. D. Alexander. These were all accepted and ordered printed in the annual report.

The following officers were re-elected for the coming year:

Dr. N. B. Emerson, President.

Gov. S. B. Dole, First Vice-President.

Mr. J. S. Emerson, Second Vice-President.

Mr. W. F. Allen, Third Vice-President.

Prof. W. D. Alexander, Corresponding Secretary.

Hon. W. F. Frear, Recording Secretary.

Miss M. A. Burbank, Treasurer and Librarian.

Prof. Alexander then read an unpublished chapter in regard to the uncompleted Annexation Treaty of 1854, written originally by Mrs. L. F. Judd for her book published in 1880; also a copy of a letter dated September 18, 1855, written by Barnum W.

Field to R. W. Wood, in regard to the Treaty of Reciprocity negotiated in 1855, but which failed of ratification by the Senate of the United States. Both of these were requested for publication in the annual report.

Mr. L. A. Thurston stated that about five years ago, when in Salt Lake City, he was shown a diary of the United States Commissioner at Honolulu at the time of the Annexation Treaty of 1854, and that he took a copy of it, which he intended to present to the Society at a future time. He was requested to do so.

Vice-President J. S. Emerson then took the chair while the President, Dr. Emerson, read the paper of the evening on the Mamala hoa. This was requested for publication.

Remarks were made by J. S. Emerson, C. J. Lyons, Prof. W. D. Alexander, Chas. W. Wilcox and Rev. A. Mackintosh.

Mr. Wm. A. Bryan moved that a committee of five be appointed to bring before other organizations and the Legislature the matter of marking the sites of important historical events. This was seconded and carried. The President stated that he would name the committee later.

Mr. A. F. Judd made some remarks in regard to a Hawaiian bibliography.

The meeting adjourned.

W. F. FREAR,  
Recording Secretary.



# TREASURER'S REPORT HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

FROM JANUARY 1st TO DECEMBER 31st, 1902. (Inclusive)

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURES.	
Jan. 1 Balance on hand	\$ 50 33	Deposited in Bishop's Savings Bank	\$ 150 00
Interest on McBryde bonds	120 00	Paid Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., for books	3 77
Collection of members' dues	167 00	Fee on money order	10
Sale of pamphlets	50	Postage stamps	2 00
Total receipts for the year	\$ 337 83	Postal cards	50
		Wrappers	10
		Hawaiian Gazette Co., for printing Ninth Annual Report	33 00
		Hawaiian Gazette Co., for binding	2 30
		Janitor's salary for eleven months	16 50
		Janitor, for poisoning shelves	20 00
		C. J. Peterson, commissions on collections of members' dues	9 20
		Librarian's salary for the year	100 00
		Total expenditures for the year	\$ 337 47
		Balance on hand	36
	\$ 337 83		\$ 337 83

M. A. BURBANK, *Treasurer.*

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY FOR  
THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 28, 1902.

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While it is much to be regretted that no meeting of our Society has been held since the last annual meeting, we have reason to hope that next year will not be as barren in visible results as the past.

It is not yet too late to save many remnants of ancient Hawaiian folk-lore and poetry, while there is a wealth of unpublished material in both public and private collections relating to the period immediately following the introduction of the art of writing.

I am glad to be able to state that Dr. Emerson's translation of David Malo's "Hawaiian Antiquities" is at last in press, and will be issued early in the spring. The beautiful and elaborate monograph on "Ancient Hawaiian Stone Work," lately published by Prof. W. T. Brigham, not only sustains the high reputation of its author, but is a valuable contribution to the ethnology of the Pacific Ocean. We shall look with interest for the succeeding numbers of the series of Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Museum. We understand that Dr. Emerson's work on the "Unwritten Literature of Hawaii," which has been spoken of in a former report, will be published in New York during the coming year.

It is to be hoped that the publication of David Malo's book may be followed by that of a translation of S. M. Kamakau's history of Kamehameha I.

One of our members who has been examining the picture writings discovered on the rocks at Koloa, Kauai, also near Makapuu Point and elsewhere, is about to publish the results of his researches.

It is rumored that several historical novels treating of romantic episodes in Hawaiian history are in course of preparation.

Hon. G. D. Gilman's Journals of his Tours through the Islands during the "forties" have lately been received by the Society, and no doubt contain graphic pictures of the olden time.



Another member, Mr. Ed Towse, has made some historical researches of which he will give us the benefit this evening.

Our valued corresponding member, S. Percy Smith, Esq., is publishing a valuable series of papers in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, on the Island of Niue, *alias* Savage Island, and its people. Mr. Basil Thomson's entertaining book on the same subject has lately been added to our library. We are much indebted to S. Percy Smith, Esq., for a complete set of the elaborate illustrated volumes on "Maori Art," published under the auspices of the New Zealand Institute.

From Mr. T. L. Young, formerly of Tahiti, now residing in Sydney, N. S. W., who probably has the finest collection of Easter Island relics in existence, we learn that he will soon publish the results of his studies of that interesting island. He believes that he has at last solved the mystery of the unique picture writing on the Easter Island tablets, which in his opinion is not of Peruvian origin, as many have supposed.

In conclusion, I beg leave to state again that not merely lengthy papers on special subjects, but any communications, however brief, on historical events, or traditions or ancient customs and beliefs, will be thankfully received by the directors of the Society.

Let me add that a new Bibliography of the Hawaiian Islands, brought up to date is urgently needed, as the latest one, by Mr. J. F. Hunnewell, is out of print, having been published years ago.

W. D. ALEXANDER,  
Corresponding Secretary.

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A SUPPRESSED CHAPTER OF HAWAIIAN HISTORY  
BY MRS. LAURA F. JUDD. READ BY PROF. W. D.  
ALEXANDER.

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(W. D. Alexander, introducing the subject, said: "I now have the pleasure of laying before the Society an interesting

passage which was excluded for prudential reasons from the narrative by the late Mrs. Laura Fish Judd, published in 1880, and for which we are indebted to the courtesy of her family. From internal evidence it would seem to have formed part of the 45th chapter, treating of the uncompleted treaty of annexation of 1854.

"Nearly half a century has passed since the events of which it treats, the object on which Kamehameha III. set his heart has been happily accomplished, and there is no longer any reason for keeping back the facts relating to it. The story is briefly told in my *History of the Hawaiian People*, pp. 277-8, and more fully in a monograph, published as No. 9 of the papers of this Society, but this statement throws new and important light on the secret history of that period.")

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"I may now divulge a state secret. His Majesty, Kamehameha III., had determined long before these events to dispose of his crown, which had become one of thorns, to the highest bidder. When he sent the last embassy to the United States, England and France, after the French spoliations, he furnished Dr. Judd with powers, to which were affixed the royal signature and seal, with the instructions to make the best bargain possible for the disposal of the sovereignty of the Islands, in case of failure in negotiating honorable treaties with the governments to which he was accredited. What stronger proof could be given of his confidence in the fidelity of the Minister of Finance? I have seen these documents, and the knowledge that such unlimited power was delegated to my husband, frightened me with his responsibility. I was glad that he did not make use of them.

Under the administration of President Pierce the little Hawaiian Kingdom was looked upon with great favor. The road to Washington was very short, shorter probably than it ever will be again.

A project for annexation to the United States, alike honorable to both parties, was drawn up by Judge Lec, at the command of the king, and when approved was placed in the hands of the

Minister of Foreign Affairs with orders to negotiate with the American Commissioner a treaty upon this basis.

The following were some of his Majesty's reasons for desiring it: His subjects, native born, were decreasing at a fearful rate, in spite of liberal legislation, a superior civilization, and the ameliorating influences of the Gospel. The blood royal might become extinct, as the dynasty of the Kamehamehas hung on a few precarious lives. The king had, as yet, no reliable protection against the repetition of such treatment as he had received from Lord George Paulet and Admiral de Tromelin. His neighbor, Queen Pomare, was already a subject in her own dominions, which England had failed to protect against the French. That he escaped a similar fate, was owing to wiser counselors, and the good offices of the United States. All the commerce, and nearly every honorable and lucrative position, were already in the hands of foreigners, as well as large tracts of land. This foreign element would increase, and become more and more difficult to control, always requiring an administration of white men. He wanted money; and his people wanted money. Lands would go to piecemeal in mortgage, for sums borrowed at rates of interest fearfully ruinous. By accepting liberal terms, these wants would be met, and the young princes be amply provided with means with which to gratify their tastes for luxury and foreign travel without losing their prestige of birth, rank, and wealth.

The Hawaiians were not to be slaves to their new masters, as some ill-disposed people tried to persuade them, but special stipulations would leave them under the laws entitled to the rights of American citizens.

So impatient of delay did His Majesty become, that he urged Dr. Judd to charter a schooner privately and go with him to the coast, thence to Washington, where he would close the bargain in person. Dr. Judd assured him that much as he favored the measure of annexation, he could aid it only as it was openly, honorably, and unanimously approved.

It was not strange that the young prince, the heir presumptive to the throne, should withhold his consent to the treaty. He had not yet tasted the sweets of supreme power, nor felt the thorns in the royal crown.

Time rolled on, and if his Majesty relinquished, under pressure, his Minister of Finance, he did not the scheme of making his kingdom a part and parcel of the United States.

The prospect of it suited the foreigners, gave fresh energy to every branch of business, and increased the value of real estate. Heavy capitalists from the adjoining coast were ready to invest their money in public improvements and plantations. American ships-of-war were at hand, anticipating the honor of bearing the important documents, signed and sealed, to Washington."

Prof. Alexander adds: "On page 227 of Mrs. Judd's book we read as follows: 'The signatures were yet wanting. His Majesty more determined and impatient than ever, when he was taken suddenly ill, and died in three weeks,' Dec. 15, 1854.

"At the request of his successor, Kamehameha IV., the negotiations that had been carried on with the U. S. Commissioner, Mr. Gregg, were broken off, and Chief Justice W. L. Lee was sent as ambassador to Washington, where he concluded a treaty of reciprocity July 20, 1855."

Kamehameha III, no ka Lokomaikai o ke Akua, ke 'Lii o ko Hawaii nei Pae Aina.

Ia Gerrit Parmile Judd, ka'u kauwa aloha i hilina'i nui ia.

#### KAUOHA MALU.

Ina paha e hooiaio ole ia ko'u Kuokoa ana, ina e popilikia paha no ka hana ana a kekahi Aupuni, a e lilo ana paha ko'u Alii ana i mea ole a i mea kulanalana loa paha, a e pilikia hou (ko'u) Aina Hooilina Alii i ke Kaua kumuole, a ina paha no kekahi kumu e ae e ike ai oe he pono keia kauoha ke hanaia; Ke Kauoha, a ke Haawi aku nei au ia oe, ma ko'u aoao, e hoo-halahala a e hoo-holo i Kuikahi me kekahi Alii, Peresidena, Aupuni, a Luna Aupuni paha, no ka hoolilo ana i ko'u Pae Aina malalo o ka hoomalu ana, a o ke Alii ana o kekahi Aina e.

A ke kauoha aku nei hoi au ia oe me ka haawi aku ia oe ka hoo-halahala a me ka hoo-holo i olelo ae-like no ke kuai ana, a e kuai aku i ko'u Alii ana, ke manao oe he pono, he naauao

ia, no na kumu i kakauia maluna, a no na kumu e ae paha. Eia no nae ia'u ka hooholo a me ka hooholo ole i ke Kuikahi a i ka olelo ae-like paha au i hana ai ma kou aoao. A ma keia Palapala ua haawiia ia oe ka hiki pono ke hoohalahala kuai, a me ke kuai aku i ko'u mau Aina pono, a me na Aina o ko'u poe Alii, eia no nae ia'u ka ae a me ka hoole, aia no hoi i ko'u poe Alii ka ae a me ka hoole i ka olelo au e hooholo ai.

Hanaia ma ko'u Hale Alii, Honolulu, Oahu, ko Hawaii nei Pae Aina, i keia la chiku o Sepatemaba, M. H. 1849.

KAMEHAMEHA.

(SEAL)

KEONI ANA.

By the King and the Premier.

R. C. WYLLIE,

Minister of Foreign Relations.

Kamehameha III. By the Grace of God, of the Hawaiian Islands, King.

To our trusty and well beloved subject Gerrit Parmile Judd.

#### SECRET INSTRUCTIONS.

In case our Independence be not fully recognized, be endangered by the acts of any other Government, or our Sovereignty in peril or rendered of no value, our Royal Domain being exposed to further hostile attacks without just and good reasons, or from any other cause you may find these Instructions necessary. These are to command and empower you, on your behalf to treat and negotiate with any King, President or Government or Agent thereof for the purpose of placing our Islands under foreign Protection and Rule.

And you are hereby further commanded and empowered to treat and negotiate for the sale of and to sell our Sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands, if, for reasons above mentioned, or for other good causes you may deem it wise and prudent so to do, reserving in all cases unto US the Ratification of any Treaty or Convention you may sign on our behalf.

And you are hereby further empowered to bargain for and sell all our Private Lands, and those of our Chiefs, subject to our Ratification and the free concurrence of our Chiefs.

Done at the Palace, Honolulu, Oahu, Hawaiian Islands, this seventh day of September, A. D. 1849.

KAMEHAMEHA.

(SEAL)

KEONI ANA.

By the King and Premier.

R. C. WYLLIE,

Minister of Foreign Relations.

# APROPOS OF RECIPROCITY TREATY OF 1855-6

Honolulu, Sept. 18, 1855.

R. W. WOOD, Esqr.,  
Koloa.

My dear Sir:—I arrived here on Sunday p. m., at 4 o'clock after a passage of forty-one days from New York and was disappointed in not finding you at Honolulu, as I was extremely anxious to communicate to you verbally the news that I was the bearer of. It was my good fortune to bring with me from New York the Treaty negotiated by Judge Lee at Washington on 20th July. You must of course be anxious to know the character of the Treaty and below you will find the all important points which I give with much pleasure to you.

Schedule of Articles to be admitted from Hawaiian Islands free of duty into Ports of the United States, when of Hawaiian growth or manufacture:

Muscovado, brown, clayed and all other unrefined Sugars.

Syrups of Sugar.

Molasses.

Coffee.

Arrow Root.

Live Stock.



Animals of all kinds.  
 Cotton unmanufactured.  
 Seeds and vegetables not preserved.  
 Undried fruits not preserved.  
 Poultry. Eggs.  
 Plants. Shrubs and trees.  
 Pelts. Wool unmanufactured. Rags.  
 Hides. Furs. } Undressed.  
 Skins. }  
 Butter.  
 Tallow.

Hawaiian Islands from the United States (when of American growth or manufacture) free of duty:

Flour of wheat.  
 Fish of all kinds.  
 Coal.  
 Timber and lumber of all kinds, round, hewed and sawed,  
 unmanufactured in whole or in part.  
 Staves and heading.  
 Cotton unmanufactured.  
 Seeds and vegetables not preserved. Undried fruits not  
 preserved.  
 Poultry. Eggs.  
 Plants. Shrubs and trees.  
 Pelts. Wool unmanufactured.  
 Rags.  
 Hides. }  
 Furs. } Undressed.  
 Skins. }  
 Butter.  
 Tallow.

To go into effect as soon as passed by Congress and approved by the King.

To remain in force seven years from the date at which it may go into operation, and further until the expiration of twelve months after either of the parties shall give notice of its wish to terminate the same. Each party having liberty to give such notice at any time after the end of said seven years.

You will note that the Judge was successful in the fullest degree and that the last clause in the Treaty (seven years, &c.), is a diplomatic touch of W. L. Marcy. I met Mr. Wyllie this morning and he informs me that the Treaty was yesterday approved by the King and will go forward in the mail that leaves today.

The President and Mr. Marcy said to Judge Lee, that there would not be any difficulty in having the Treaty ratified by Congress.

Shall you be at Honolulu soon? I would like much to see you. Judge Lee and Mrs. Lee wished to be remembered to you and Mrs. Wood. My kindest regards to Mrs. Wood, Mr. and Mrs. Burbank.

With my hopes that the Treaty pleases you,

I am

Your friend and servant,

BARNUM W. FIELD.

The above letter is an exact copy of the original letter, written by Barnum W. Field to R. W. Wood, Esq., and dated "Honolulu, September 18, 1855," and now in the hands of Mrs. Charles L. Riddle, of 15 Everett St. Jamaica Plain, Mass.

Signed JAMES DRUMMOND DOLE.

Jamaica Plain, Mass.

May 4th, 1902.

This treaty failed of ratification by the U. S. Senate, and twenty more years were destined to pass away before the boon of reciprocity was attained.

W. D. A.

MAMALA-HOA.

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EVENTS IMMEDIATELY SUCCEEDING THE DEATH  
OF KALANIOPU'U—KAMEHAMEHA'S AFFRAY AT  
KEAAU—THE SLAUGHTER AT KAWAIHAE—THE  
MAMALA-HOA EDICT — OBSERVATIONS ON  
KAMEHAMEHA'S CHARACTER AND POLICY.

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(Read before the Hawaiian Historical Society, at its annual meeting in Honolulu, H. I., January 12, 1903, by Dr. N. B. Emerson.

The record of History may be considered as a series of approximations, each one coming in some perceptible degree nearer to the truth. The course of Hawaiian History during the last two decades of the eighteenth and the first two decades of the nineteenth century is so closely interwoven with the life of the great conqueror Kamehameha, that the dislocation of any important event in his career, or the failure to gain for it an achromatic setting in the focus of truth, distorts and confuses the whole picture. One such incident in the life of the great chief is called by the Hawaiians *Ka-lele-iki*, and upon this I shall attempt to shed more light—reflected though it may be, from men whose memories are still charged with the chronicles of those days. It concerns the adventure that Kamehameha engaged in at Keaau, in Puna, Hawaii, where the life of the warrior came within a hair's breadth of being summarily terminated—a fortune, which, it need hardly be said, would have turned the whole after history of Hawaii into far different channels.

Ka-lani-opu'u, the aged king of Hawaii, died in April, 1782, leaving his domain to his son, Kiwalao; while to his nephew, Kamehameha, he consigned, according to previous arrangement, the famous war-god *Ku-kaili-moku*. With this other-world gift the king probably gave—according to custom—certain lands to Kamehameha, the income of which was nominally for the support

of the idol. Besides this Kamehameha inherited as a patrimony an estate in Halawa, Kohala, and also possessed, as it would appear, valuable lands in Kona, and perhaps in Waipio.

After this events follow in swift succession; they may be summarized as follows:

Kiwalao, the new king, with a large retinue and many warriors moves along the Kona coast in a fleet of canoes towards Honaunau, where stood the venerable Hale-o-Keawe, the mausoleum of Hawaii's royal dead. Word is given out—rightly or wrongly—that this royal progress and funeral procession will be continued as far as to Kailua—an action, if consummated, that would mean nothing less than a threat of land-grabbing and of war. The king, Kiwalao, and his cousin, Kamehameha, have a pathetic meeting at Kaawaloa, on which occasion Kiwalao seems to be greatly depressed by the shadow of coming doom. The king, as he stands on a platform in front of the royal sepulchre, goes through the form of declaring the will of Ka-lani-opu'u.

Later the royal cousins attend an awa-drinking entertainment at Honaunau, at which Kiwalao, either thoughtlessly or of set purpose, insults Kamehameha by passing on to a favorite the cup which Kamehameha had expressly prepared for the king. The famous old warrior, Ke-kuhau-pi'o, a Kona chief, and one of the first to appreciate Kamehameha's fitness for kingship, resents and denounces the affront on the instant, and forces the withdrawal of Kamehameha from the scene. This incident, though in itself apparently insignificant, is worthy of mention as a tell-tale straw.

Before we consider the question of the allotment of lands, we must pause to remember that the system of land-tenure in ancient Hawaii was mostly feudal, that the king was theoretically and practically the owner of all the lands in his domain, and assigned them at his pleasure to his chiefs and favorites, and they in turn to those under them; that although the sovereign could revoke the gift at will, he could give what was in reality but a life interest, since when a new sovereign came into power he and his counsellors could decide on grounds of state policy or favoritism whether or not a new division should take place.

At the time of the allotment of lands then, after the death of Ka-lani-opu'u, Keawe-ma'u-hili, under the pretence of carrying out the wishes of Ka-lani-opu'u, manages to persuade Kiwala-o into a division of lands that shall give Keawe-ma'u-hili himself the lion's portion, and shall rob Kamehameha, and his supporters, Ke'e-au-moku, Ka-me'e-ia-moku, Ke-ku-hau-pi'o and others of possessions that heretofore had been theirs. As can be imagined, the Kona chiefs found the situation intolerable and exclaimed, not unreasonably, "*Ua aho e kaa,*" (it is better to go to war.)

Keoua, the half brother of Kiwala-o, finding himself one of those who are to be neglected in the division of land, draws off his forces and is the first one to commit an overt act, which he does in the neighboring hamlet of Keomo, where—illogically enough—he destroys the property, cuts down the coco-nut trees and takes the lives of men belonging to Kamehameha; illogically, it seems, because Kamehameha is to be despoiled, and they can therefore in a degree sympathize with each other; and up to this time Kamehameha has not shown himself one of the offending party.

The fuel has been gathered together; it needs but a spark to kindle the fires of war. The action of Keoua supplies this.

Now comes the battle of Moku-ohai, marked by the incident of Ke'e-au-moku's temporary disablement and downfall, the serio-comic, small-minded anxiety of Kiwala-o as to the safety of the *lei palaoa* about the neck of the fallen hero, the rush made by Kamehameha's men to rescue their prostrate general, and the retribute death of Kiwala-o at the hands of Keeaumoku.

Victory perches on the standard of Kamehameha; the king's body is food for the altars of the gods; the allied royal forces are utterly defeated and scattered. The result is a land-division quite different from that which had been proposed, for to Kamehameha Kona, Kohala and Hamakua now belong by right of conquest.

Keawe-ma'u-hili, who was taken prisoner in battle, escapes through the connivance of his guards and makes his way across the interior of Hawaii to Hilo, where he declares his independence of both Kamehameha and Keoua and claims for himself

the sovereignty of the island, though in reality his power covers only the district of Hilo and the adjoining parts of Hamakua to the North and of Puna to the South.

Keoua flees from the field of defeat and reaches Kau, where he is acknowledged as *moi* and the successor in the kingdom to his brother Kiwalaó.

At this point let us pause for a moment and enquire:

(1) Why was it that Keoua, justly dissatisfied with the proposed new allotment of real estate, chose Keomo as the place for the exhibition of his grievance?

(2) Why did Kiwalaó and Keawe-ma'u-hili range themselves on the side of the malcontent and rebel Keoua in the battle of Moku-ohai? These are questions that do not find explanation in any version of the affair that I am acquainted with.

Keoua and Kamehameha and the powerful war-chiefs who sided with the latter, whose lands to a large extent lay in Kona, were the ones that had cause for complaint, having been slighted or robbed in the land division. Why did they not side together?

As for Kiwalaó, he had expressed the desire that Kamehameha should not be forgotten in the distribution of lands, and he had condoled with Keoua on the fact of his having been slighted. In view of these facts, it is pertinent to ask, as touching the consistency of Kiwalao, why, when the affair has come to the arbitrament of battle, we find him committing himself to the side of Keoua, and against Kamehameha and his war-chiefs?

To account for this situation, it seems necessary to suppose the existence of some secret understanding between Keoua, Keawe-ma'u-hili and King Kiwalaó. Exactly what this was cannot be affirmed, but it is plausible to suppose that it involved the stripping of Kamehameha and his party for the enrichment of the others. Without the assumption of some thing of this sort, the action of Keoua at Keomo, and the part played by Kiwalaó and Keawe-ma'u-hili in the battle of Moku-ohai, are aberrant and illogical; with it they are natural and easy of explanation. Kamehameha — under this name we include his whole party—Kamehameha was powerful; therefore to be feared; rich in lands the most coveted in the whole island; therefore to be robbed.



In whose mind did the plot for Kamehameha's despoilment originate? In whose else but that of Keawe-ma'u-hili, the Machiavel, the intriguer, the unjust steward of the period? It could never have been conceived in the spiritless brain of Kiwalaó, although the plot once proposed, Kiwala-o's acquiescent nature would not have persisted in withholding his consent.

The death of Kiwala-o and the victory of Kamehameha at the battle of Moku-ohai have precipitated a rearrangement of the political and war forces of Hawaii that is kaleidoscopic. The big island is split up into three independent and hostile factions. It is a contest between kinsmen, in which each one is able to find strong justification for his action and attitude; a justification that has weight with the historian today as it no doubt had weight at the time in satisfying the conscience of each antagonist in this three-cornered situation. Keawe-ma'u-hili is able to salve his conscience and justify his claims on the ground that his is the unimpeachable blue blood; that he is the highest *kapu* chief in the land, the brother of Ka-lani-opu'u, the actual prime minister and head counselor of Kiwala-o. In holding Hilo, he is but keeping his own; in claiming the whole kingdom, he is but seeking his rights. While Keoua, in taking Kau is but retaining what was his own right by previous possession and what is now accorded him by the unanimous voice of the people. The crown, or whatever symbolized the office of sovereign, had fallen in battle—at the death of Kiwala-ó—and must now belong to the strong hand that should seize it and hold it. Kamehameha for his part lay claim to the three districts, Kona, Kohala and Hamakua as his by right of conquest, and to the whole kingdom by virtue of his being the sole representative of lawful authority, after the death of his cousin, King Kiwala-ó, under whom he should have been recognized as the first man in the kingdom, had the provisions of Ka-lani-opu'u's will been carried out.

The advantages possessed by Kamehameha, as compared with those of his opponents, were many, among which should be mentioned first the power of making and keeping friends. On his side were the two most accomplished warriors, Ke-kuhau-pi'o and Kee-au-moku, as well as Ka-mee-ia-moku, Ka-manawa and Keawe-a-Heulu, each one of them able to muster a full

thousand of armed men; and the fact of Kamehameha's having such staunch allies is a proof not only of the high esteem in which he was held but of his great personal magnetism. Another advantage to Kamehameha was that the position in which he now found himself was not so much of his own choosing or planning as one to which he had been called.

"It is certain, moreover," says Mr. Fernander, "that it was the great Kona chiefs who sought him out—not he them—when their personal fears for their own possessions made them contemplate and counsel revolt as an escape from the unfair division of the lands which they apprehended under the new regime. It was their urgent solicitations, and the prospect of a crown, which they held out, that moved Kamehameha from his quiet retreat in Kohala." The advantage seems to lie on the side of Kamehameha.

The next move was made by Kamehameha and resulted in the battle at Waiakea—generally spoken of as the *Kaua Awa*—in which the land forces of the attacking party, led by Kamehameha in person, were routed by those of Keawe-ma'u-hili aided by a body of men lent by Kahekili of Maui. Luckily for Kamehameha, his fleet of war-canoes, commanded by his trusty general Kee-aumoku, was hovering along the coast and formed the bridge by which he and the remains of his army succeeded in escaping to Laupahoehoe, not many miles away.

Thus far in my narrative of events I have followed with but little deviation, if any, the account of Mr. Fornander which he has given in greater detail than any other of the writers on Hawaiian history. But from this point I shall be obliged to disagree radically not only with Fornander but with all other authorities who have written on this topic.

The first and chief authority on which I rely as my warrant for making this bold departure from the accepted records is the statement of a Hawaiian of this place named Ka-lei-mauoha, now some sixty-five years old, who derived his information, he says, from a Kona chief named Ka-maka-noe, in or about the year 1864, at a time when my informant was living with that chief at Kaha-lu'u. Ka-maka-noe, though an old man—of some eighty years—at the time of making this statement, did not claim to have

witnessed the affair at Keaau, but told the story as related to him by one Keawe-opala—also a native of the same district—who was a soldier with Kamehameha's army and was present at Keaau on the occasion of the Ka-lele-iki adventure. I can personally vouch for Ka-lei-mauoha as having a remarkably good memory; and from an acquaintance of several years I have formed a great respect for his honesty and truthfulness. He is one of the old style of Hawaiians, and his countenance and whole make-up testify to his reliability. The story is also confirmed in all essential points by Polikapa, an old Hawaiian of this town, who will need no introduction to many in this audience. It is hardly necessary to state that in the preparation of this paper I have freely availed myself of the work done by David Malo, Kamakau, Dibble, Jarves, Fornander, and of our own historian Professor Alexander. To all of these I would make due acknowledgements. In the passages where I have used the language of these authorities, I have endeavored to indicate the fact.

After his campaign against Keawe-ma'u-hili, which resulted in Kamehameha's defeat and in so much vilification and heart-burning on both sides that it was called the "*Kaua arua*," bitter war, Kamehameha remained for some time—months probably—at Lau-pahoehoe repairing damages and pluming his wings for another flight. Then, assembling his army in his fleet of canoes he followed the coast in the direction of Puna; but, stopping short of that district, he drew ashore at Waiakea in Hilo.

In this statement I am flatly contradicting the accepted authorities. Fornander, for instance, states that in the expedition now to be described Kamehameha went with his own war-canoe and its crew alone, without making his object known to his counsellors and unaccompanied by any of them. He makes no mention of the stay at Waiakea and asserts that Kamehameha went directly to Keaau, in Puna. There are also other discrepancies between the account give by Fornander and that which I shall present.

Now at Keaau, only a few miles from Wai-akea, lived a low chief, or *konohiki*, of considerable weight of character, whose name, *Ku-uku*, is said to have tallied well with his person. "He was such a slight body," said my informant, "that a powerful

man like Kamehameha could lift him with one hand as he would a child." It was to be near this man and to consult with him that Kamehameha made his present move.

Ku-uku was one who stood between the two warring parties. Though nominally attached to the party of Keawe-ma'u-hili on whose side he had fought in the last battle, that of the *Kaua awa* at Waiakea, he was so little of a partizan that had his desire prevailed, both sides would have thrown down their arms and come to terms. If the report that has come to me may be credited, his inclination was to act on a small scale as an armed intermediary, ready to uphold whichever chief should be unjustly assailed; always provided, however, that by so doing he could see the way clear to the promotion of peace. Furthermore, it is said that Ku-uku and Kamehameha sustained towards each other that peculiar Hawaiian relation which is indicated in the word *punalua*, the woman being Ku-uku's wife Kane-ka-po-lei, to whom is accredited the motherhood of Kamehameha's natural child Ka-olei-o-ku. Does it not then appear the most natural thing in the world that Kamehameha should approach Ku-uku, in the hope of winning him to his own side by his personal influence?

Keawe-ma'uhili, it should be explained, had withdrawn from Hilo-one with his forces and was at this time somewhere in the wilderness back of Kau with Keoua. He had, says my informant, by a revulsion of feeling become averse to continuing the war offensively with his "*keiki*," Kamehameha. This statement as to Keawe-ma'u-hili's location and disposition, it is true, will account for Kamehameha's ability to make the move he did and to post his army at Waiakea, without exposing himself to the danger of immediate attack from the forces of Keawe-ma'u-hili.

After remaining at Waiakea for some weeks—or months, as my informant says—one day Kamehameha set sail with his whole fleet, moving along the Puna coast, purposing to visit his friend Ku-uku at Keaau. His own double canoe, well manned with warriors, led the way. The main body of the fleet followed, separated from him by a considerable interval. When Kamehameha had arrived opposite a small cove at a place called Pa-a'i,

in Keaau, he spied a fishing craft with five men aboard who were making for the shore after having spent the night at sea.

No words were exchanged between Kamehameha's party and the fishermen. These recognized the fleet as that of an enemy and, being attached to the side of Keoua, and fearful of being plundered, they made all haste to reach the shore. At the same time Kamehameha rushed his own canoe in such a course as to intercept the fishermen, if possible, his acknowledged purpose being robbery.

The fishermen made the beach first; hastily hauled up their canoe; shouldered their belongings and started inland. The names of two of the party have been handed down, Naone-a-La'a and Ka-lau-a'i. The three others less encumbered with baggage, made good their escape, and their names are lost to fame.

Kamehameha's canoe struck the beach a moment too late. Regardless of rank and personal dignity, he jumped to land and gave chase after the two men. Several of his own soldiers, men of great strength, trained athletes, it is said, made a move to follow their leader; but Kamehameha would have it an affair of his own and lifted his hand with a forbidding gesture that compelled them to keep their places. In fact there existed an unwritten code of honor, by which all persons were forbidden to take sides in a contest between two individuals, a rule, however, which did not apply in battle.

Kamehameha came up with the fisherman Ka-lau-a'i, seized hold of him; shook him and tried to wrench away from him the coveted net he was carrying upon his shoulders. Ka-lau-a'i seems merely to have stood on the defensive and not to have struck a blow for his own protection; but in spite of this, Kamehameha did not succeed in overthrowing him or getting possession of the coveted net. While engaged in this scuffle, one of Kamehameha's feet became wedged in a hole or crevice of the lava plain and was held fast. This gave Ka-lau-a'i his opportunity and he escaped. Kamehameha could not give pursuit; but he tore up from its bed a large piece of rock and hurled it at his fleeing enemy with such good aim and such force that it was shattered by the hala tree, behind which the fisherman had run for shelter. At this moment Naone took part in the

contest; he threw down four of the paddles of the company which he had been carrying on his shoulders, but kept one as a club with which he struck Kamehameha a stunning blow on the forehead; then leaving the invading chieftain on the ground, unconscious and bleeding, the daring fisherman joined his companion in flight.

And so Naone and Ka-lau-a'i escaped unhurt; the aggressor and would-be robber lay bleeding and stunned, his foot gripped fast in its rocky fetter. The people on the canoe, seeing Kamehameha's trouble, came quickly to his relief and, having taken him aboard, conveyed him in a prostrate condition to the residence of his friend Ku-uku, where for a time he lay between life and death. But the powers of nature were in his favor and after a day or two of doubtful struggle, he came to himself and was able to converse and turn his thoughts to his affairs.

The smoke from the incense that belongs to hero-worship blinds the eyes of the worshippers and magnifies the attributes of their heroes. Kamehameha's case is no exception to that of heroes generally; his personal strength and prowess have been greatly exaggerated. In *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, the Rev. J. F. Pogue, says that Kamehameha's escape from death on this occasion was due to his great strength,—“*a no ka nui o kona ikaika i pakele ai oia, mai make ia la*,”—an assertion that moved my Hawaiian informant to the most emphatic denial. “Kamehameha was not able,” said he, “to overcome Ka-lau-a'i even when the latter was heavily burdened with a fishing net. Ka-lau-a'i was the stronger man; and as to Naone, he was a famous athlete. No, Kamehameha owed his life not to his strength, but to the clemency and self-restraint of the two men. If Naone had indulged himself in another blow, which was clearly his right, as being the attacked party, Kamehameha would have been a dead man.”

Though Naone and his companion had been able to repulse the onset of Kamehameha and to make their escape, they could not long remain concealed from the search of Kamehameha's men who were in such numbers as to overrun the land and who would have torn them limb from limb, but that Kamehameha had issued strict orders that they should not be harmed. It was indeed



not without grumbling that Kamehameha's fierce warriors restrained themselves when Naone and Ka-lau-a'i were at length in their power; but they dared not disobey a master whose will was law, and whose command had been to have the daring offenders brought before him unhurt, that he might deal with them according to his pleasure. It is said that while Kamehameha lay sick and wounded in the house of Ku-uku, Naone and Ka-lau-a'i being still at large, his chiefs came to him and said, "Oh king, shall we ravage Keaaui with fire and spear?"

Kamehameha's head was still bundled for its wound when the two prisoners, obedient to his orders, crawled into his presence, evidently set on meeting their fate like soldiers, if they were to be doomed to death.

Kamehameha propped himself on the elbow, made a slight inclination upon recognizing the men and then grunted out, "Ehe! . . . Sit there." Then, looking them over, he said to Naone, "Are you the man who struck me on the head?"

"Yes, I am he," was the reply.

"You gave me but one blow, did you?" asked Kamehameha.

"Yes, but one," admitted Naone.

"Why didn't you strike a second time?" demanded Kamehameha.

"I thought the one blow would have sufficed to kill you," said the culprit boldly.

There was a pause; then the king resumed, "You are a soldier. I had flattered myself that I was to be the one to do the hurting; but it turned out that I was mistaken, and I was the one that was hurt."

Then, after a moment, Kamehameha said, "I was in the wrong in making the attack. My *kahu* used to tell me that violence and robbery (*pakaha*) were evil and should be punished with death." If I live I will make a law against robbery and violence and lay on it the penalty of death." With this announcement Kamehameha dismissed the two men bidding them go to their homes in peace. But the gift of their lives was not all he conferred upon them; to Naone he gave the land—*ahu-pua'a*—on which stood the house where he then lay, and

to Ka-lau-a'i the land that included the place where the affray took place, lands which Naone and Ka-lau-a'i are said to have retained all their lives.

It is almost superfluous to say that Naone and Ka-lau-a'i became the most ardent and faithful adherents of Kamehameha's cause, ready to go to any extremity in his behalf. They not only joined his army, but, being men of influence, they drew many others with them. It is furthermore reported that in after years, when they heard the news of Kamehameha's death, they went out in the woods and hanged themselves—a pitiful climax to their devotion.

One of the results of the incident at Keaau was the law directed against the very thing of which Kamehameha had there been guilty, and this law was called the *Kanawai Mamala-hoa*, in memory of the unhappy affair at Keaau. (The meaning of the word *Mamala-hoa* is splintered paddle.)

As to the words in which the law itself was embodied, they were nothing more or less than those oft quoted words which seem to have been generally misunderstood as being a statement of historical fact, "E hele ka elemakule a moe i ke ala, e hele ka luahine a moe i ke ala, e hele ke keiki a moe i ke ala." (Let the aged, men and women, and little children lie down (in security) in the road.) And this is all there is to it. It has a rugged simplicity that comports well with Siani, "Thou shalt, . . . thou shalt not." No penalty is attached; but in the background there loom up the unknown possibilities of a powerful autocratic will, that is at once a law-giver, judge and executioner, visions of death and the imu, or any other punishment the king might choose to inflict.

The time when the *Mamala-hoa* edict was first enacted is not definitely settled. According to one view the command of Kamehameha that secured the lives of Naone and his companion was itself an instance of the application of the law. I should be more inclined to the view that, while it sprang from the motive, the *Mamala-hoa* law as an enactment was a later enunciation.

I should argue from Kamehameha's repentant confession of fault to Naone, acknowledging that he had done wrong, and

his pardon of the man who had felled him to the earth with a blow on that most sacred part, the head, that there had already sprung up in his mind a dim sentiment which he did not fully express until it developed into the *Mamala-hoa* Act.

Another view, equally tenable and perhaps more probable, is that at least the first application of this law, if not its enunciation, was at Kawaihae, in 1792, after ten long years of warring between Kamehameha and Keoua. During this decade the cause of Kamehameha has advanced, while that of Keoua has remained stationary, or relatively declined. The blows struck by Kamehameha had been successfully repelled by Keoua; but there seems to be no prospect that either party will be able to establish a peace by offensive warfare. Matters remain at a deadlock.

At this juncture the ambassadors of Kamehameha, Keawe-a-Heulu and Kamanawa, make the journey to Kahuku, in Kau, and come into Keoua's presence with the usual prostrations and formal expressions of regard. Moved by their representations and intercessions, Keoua with a company of his followers numbering perhaps a thousand, sets forth in his canoes on the voyage to Kawaihae, there to submit himself and his cause to the man who, he sees, holds in his hands the destinies of the land. He is under the implied if not the explicit protection of Kamehameha's safe-conduct, and his only guarantee for his own safety and that of his people is the honor and good faith of Kamehameha.

As Keoua draws near to the landing place at Kawaihae and beholds the array of Kamehameha's fleet and army, his mind is oppressed with an over-clouding shadow of distrust and he observes, "It looks stormy ashore; the flight of the clouds is ominous of evil." ("Ino uka; ke lele ino mai nei ke ao.")

Armed men under the command of Ke'e-au-moku surround the double canoe of Keoua as it comes to the shore. The doomed chief, standing upon the *pola*, the central raised platform, exchanges greetings with Kamehameha. "Here am I," says he; and the king answers, "Rise and come up here that we may know each other." As Keoua leaps from his canoe, the treacherous spear of Ke'e-au-moku—the Joab of Hawaii—pierces

him. There is an ineffectual struggle for life, but Keoua dies on the spot.

He does not fall alone; he has many to keep him company; (he nui na moe pu.) Ke'e-au-moku continues the slaughter under the very eyes of Kamehameha and within reach of the sound of his voice, until—with but one exception—every one of Keoua's immediate escort, from the highest chief to the lowest, has poured out his blood.

The second and larger division of Keoua's escort, at some remove from the first, was under the command of Ka-olei-o-ku, Kamehameha's natural son, previously mentioned. The slaughter would have gone on and included these; but at this point Kamehameha interposes his veto.

"You have killed my hanai—foster-child, or foster-parent—"and I will kill yours," said Kelii-maikai. "He shall not die; he is the child of my youth," answered Kamehameha. The command of the king goes forth; the hand of the slayer is stayed, and the rapacious war-god Ku-kaili-moku has to be content with the victims already provided as sacrifices for his altars.

It was this upturning of the thumb by Kamehameha, this declaration of amnesty, by which many hundreds of innocent lives were rescued from impending death, that some authorities regard as the real Mamala-hoa edict.

One cannot but remark that Kamehameha did not embarrass himself by declaring the Mamala-hoa decree until he had first seen the blood of his inveterate enemy Keoua poured out before him.

As the record stands, how can the historian, who is at the same time a critic and a moralist, avoid mingling emotions of condemnation and abhorrence with the satisfaction with which he accepts the total result of such a life as that of Kamehameha? We may class Kamehameha with such characters as William the Conqueror, as an instrument of Evolution, of Providence, whose deeds, though unscrupulous and cruel, have borne better fruit than the man's intentions deserved. While we may thankfully accept the results of Evolution, we are not called upon to endorse with our moral approval the individual acts of its heroes.

Among the good deeds of Kamehameha the Great none is more praiseworthy than the Mamala-hoa decree. It cannot fail to recall to one's mind the accounts that have come down to us of the peace and security that crowned England when good King Alfred came to his own.

This paper has concerned itself with the incidents that marked the times and places usually accepted as those for the promulgation of the Mamala-hoa decree. As my last word, I must admit that I can find no definite statement that Kawaihae was the place, and the amnesty granted to Keoua's people the occasion for the utterance of the Mamala-hoa decree. The words of the law itself do not seem fitting either for such an occasion as that at Keaau or at Kawaihae, but rather for some other incident at a later time, when the whole land was united under the dominion of Kamehameha.

N. B. EMERSON.

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#### LIBRARIAN'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR, JANUARY- DECEMBER, 1902.

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To the Officers and Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

Gentlemen:

The accessions to the Library for the year have been as follows:

"Savage Island," an account of a sojourn in Niue and Tonga, by Basil Thomson, purchased from Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London.

Several volumes of the publications of the "Bureau of American Ethnology," received from Washington.

"Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand," has been bound; also the "Transactions of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society."

A chest containing twenty-one books, some of which are in

manuscript, copied from various sources, books or papers, and some of which are scrap-books of clippings from newspapers, all intended to form a record of events in the Hawaiian Islands, with a table of the contents of each, compiled by the late Daniel Lyons; also a copy, bound volume, of "Nuhou," a first edition of "Jarves' History of the Hawaiian Islands," and a few pamphlets, was presented to the Hawaiian Historical Society by Col. J. H. Soper in behalf of some of the citizens who had subscribed to pay the Lyons heirs for this collection.

A number of old Hawaiian papers in both the Hawaiian and English languages should be bound when the files can be completed. At present, however, many numbers are missing, frequently whole volumes. If others have similar difficulty in completing files, an exchange might in some instances be effected, to the satisfaction of all concerned. Besides a complete set of the "Friend," there are several duplicates of the earlier volumes. The "Polynesian" lacks Vol. VIII, May 17, 1851, to May 8, 1852, and all subsequent to April 30, 1859; while there are duplicates of many volumes that we have, and in some cases as many as three duplicates.

The files of papers in the Hawaiian language are nearly all very incomplete.

A list of Hawaiian periodicals is appended, showing the completeness or incompleteness of the files. The names and dates are taken from "Hunnewell's Hawaiian Bibliography" and "Thrum's Annual." There is also a list of books appended, supplementary to the "Catalogue of Bound Books" among the papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY A. BURBANK,

Librarian.

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#### BOOKS ADDED TO THE CATALOGUE OF BOUND BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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"Ancient History, Studies in," comprising an inquiry into the origin of Exogamy—John Ferguson McLennan.



- "Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand"—Augustus Hamilton.
- "Banks, Sir Joseph, Journal of," during Captain Cook's first voyage in H. M. S. Endeavor in 1768-71—Edited by Sir Joseph Hooker.
- "Brown Men and Women of the South Sea Islands"—Edward Reeves.
- "Caroline Islands"—F. W. Christian.
- Choris, Louis—"Voyage Pittoresque Autour du Monde."
- Christian, F. W.—"The Caroline Islands: Travel in the Sea of the Little Lands."
- Featherman, A.—"Social History of the Races of Mankind." Second Division: Papuo and Malayo Melanesians.
- Freycinet, M. L.—Scientific Record of Voyage Around the World, 1817-20.
- Hale, Horatio—"Ethnography and Philology," in Scientific Records of Wilkes' Exploring Expedition, 1838-42.
- Hamilton, Augustus—"The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand."
- "Hawaii, Affairs in,—Foreign Relations of the U. S., 1894. Appendix II,"
- "Hawaiian Islands." Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, U. S. Senate. Transmitted to Congress, Jan. 1, 1893-Mar. 4, '94.
- Hill, S. S.—"Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands".
- Hochstetter, Dr. Ferdinand von—"Neu Seeland."
- Hooker, Sir Joseph D., Editor—"Journal of Sir Joseph Banks during Captain Cook's First Voyage in H. M. S. Endeavor, 1768-71"
- "Indian Archipelago, the Languages of the,"—The Ethnology of the Indian Archipelago, embracing inquiries into the Continental Relations of the Indo-Pacific Islanders—J. R. Logan.
- Logan, J. R.—"The Languages of the Indian Archipelago"—The Ethnology of the Indian Archipelago, embracing inquiries into the Continental Relations of the Indo-Pacific Islanders.
- McLennan, John Ferguson—"Studies in Ancient History", Comprising an inquiry into the origin of Exogamy.
- "Maori Race in New Zealand, Art Workmanship of the,"—Augustus Hamilton.
- "Maoris, Our"—Lady Martin.
- Martin, Lady—"Our Maoris."
- Melville, Herman—"Omoo."
- "Neu Seeland"—Dr. Ferdinand von Hochstetter.
- "New Zealand, Old,"—A tale of the Good Old Times told by an old chief of the Ngapuhi tribe—A Pakeha Maori. With an introduction by the Earl of Pembroke.
- "Omoo"—Herman Melville.
- "Pacifique, l'Océan"—C. de Varigny.
- Pakeha Maori, A—"Old New Zealand". A tale of the Good Old Times told by an old chief of the Ngapuhi tribe. Introduction by the Earl of Pembroke.
- Pickering, Charles—"The Races of Man and their Geographical Distribution." Scientific Records of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition.
- "Polynesiens, les, et leurs migrations"—A. de Quatrefages.
- Quatrefages, A. de,—"Les Polynesiens et leurs migrations."
- Quoy et Gaimard—"Zoologie", Scientific Record of Freycinet's Voyage Around the World.
- "Races of Man and their Geographical Distribution,"—Charles Pickering, Reports of Wilkes' Exploring Expedition, 1838-42.
- "Races of Mankind, Social History of the." Second Division: Papuo and Malayo Melanesians,—A. Featherman.
- Reeves, Edward—"Brown Men and Women of the South Sea Islands."

"Sandwich and Society Islands, Travels in the,"—S. S. Hill.

"Savage Island": An account of a sojourn in Niue and Tonga,—Basil Thompson.

Scientific Record of Freycinet's Voyages.

Scientific Record of Wilkes' Exploring Expedition.

"South Sea Islands, Brown Men and Women of the,"—Edward Reeves.

Thompson, Basil,—*"Savage Island; An account of a sojourn in Niue and Tonga."*

Varigny, C. de,—*"L'Océan Pacifique."*

*"Voyage pittoresque autour du monde, avec les portraits des sauvages d'Amerique, d'Asie, d'Afrique, et des îles du Grand Océan; des paysages, des vues maritimes, et plusieurs objets d'histoire naturelle; accompagnée de descriptions par M. le Baron Cuvier, et M. A. de Chamisso, et d'observations sur les crânes humains par M. le Docteur Gall."*—Par M. Louis Choris, Peintre.

Wilkes' U. S. Exploring Expedition, Scientific Record of, 1838-42.

## HAWAIIAN PERIODICALS PUBLISHED IN SEVERAL LANGUAGES.

**ALAKAI O HAWAII**—Hawaiian; daily; established 1887 (?). No copies.

**KE ALAULĀ**—Hawaiian; monthly; established April, 1866. On hand—June, 1866; February, November and December, 1867; January and February, 1868; 1869, 1870, 1871 and 1872 complete; duplicate odd numbers.

**ALOHA AINA**—Hawaiian; daily; established 1895 (?). No copies.

**AMATEUR**—English; established 1852. No copies.

**ANASAGASHI**—Japanese; weekly; established 1896 (?). No copies.

**ANGLICAN CHURCH CHRONICLE**—English; monthly; established January, 1883. Incomplete file.

**APPEAL**—English; established 1892; campaign paper. On hand—February 1 and 2 only.

**AU OKOA**—Hawaiian; weekly; established 1864 (?). On hand—Odd numbers in 1869, 1870 and 1871.

**AURORA HAWAIIANA**—Portuguese; weekly; established 1888 (?). On hand—1889-1891, incomplete file.

**AUSTIN'S HAWAIIAN WEEKLY**—English; established 1899 (?). On hand—incomplete file.

**BENNETT'S OWN**—English; weekly; established September 15, 1869; discontinued September 6, 1870. On hand—Incomplete file.

**AS BOAS NOVAS**—Portuguese; monthly; established 1896 (?). On hand—A few numbers.

**CHINESE CHRONICLE**—Chinese; weekly; established 1897 (?). No copies.

**CHINESE TIMES**—Chinese; weekly; established 1892 (?). No copies.

**CHURCH MAGAZINE**—English; monthly; established 1864. No copies.

**THE CONVENTION**—English; established July 14, 1864. Published during Constitutional Convention, giving debates. On hand—complete set.

**THE DAILY BULLETIN**—English; established February 1, 1882.

**DAILY HAWAIIAN**—English; established 1884. On hand—Incomplete set.

**THE DAILY HAWAIIAN HERALD**—English; established September 4, 1866; discontinued December 21, 1866. Missing from file, December 8, 9, 13 to 21. Some duplicates.

**DAILY HERALD**—English; established September 1, 1886; discontinued July 30, 1887. On hand—All but first two numbers. Succeeded August 2, 1887, by Daily Gazette.

- DIOCESAN MAGAZINE—English; quarterly; established 1891 (?). On hand—Incomplete set.
- O DIRECTO—Portuguese; weekly; established 1896 (?). No copies.
- KA ELELE HAWAII—Hawaiian; established 1844. On hand—1844-1846; March 18, 1848; March 9, 1850.
- KA ELELE E—Hawaiian; established 1855. On hand—August 22, 1855, only.
- KA ELELE POAKOLU—Hawaiian; weekly; established 1880. On hand—Occasional numbers in 1880-1886; 1887, January-April 16; 1888-1892, occasional numbers; some duplicates.
- THE FRIEND—English; monthly; established January, 1843; suspended February, 1851; re-established May, 1852. Complete set.
- GOSSIP—English; established 1902 (?). No copies.
- THE GUIDE—English; semi-weekly; established 1899. On hand—Part of 1900, 1901, 1902 and 1903.
- HAE HAWAII—Hawaiian; established 1858. On hand—Volume 3, Apr. 1858--March 1859; '59-'60, occasional numbers, some duplicates.
- HAE KARITIANO—Hawaiian; semi-monthly; established January, 1860. On hand—a few numbers 1860-1862.
- HAE KATOLIKA—Hawaiian; Monthly; established 1868 (?). On hand—Six numbers in 1869.
- HANDICRAFT—English; monthly; established January, 1889--Published by Kamehameha Manual School. On hand—1892 complete; 1889-1896, occasional numbers. Some duplicates.
- HAWAII HERALD—English; weekly; established 1896, Hilo. On hand—Each year, with occasional numbers missing.
- HAWAII HOLOMUA—Hawaiian; daily and weekly. established 1891. On hand—1892-1895, many missing. Some duplicates.
- KO HAWAII PAE AINA—Hawaiian; weekly; established January 5, 1878. On hand—1878-1891. Many missing, 1884 entirely lacking.
- HAWAII SHIMBUN—Japanese; weekly; established 1893 (?). No copies.
- THE HAWAIIAN—English; monthly; established January, 1872; discontinued December, 1872. On hand—Excepting July and December.
- THE HAWAIIAN—English, monthly; established 1895. On hand—Complete set.
- THE HAWAIIAN—English; weekly; literary and agricultural; established February 12, 1898; suspended November 25, 1898. No copies.
- HAWAIIAN ANNUAL—English; established 1875. On hand—1876-1903.
- HAWAIIAN CASCADE AND MISCELLANY—English; established November 9, 1844; ceased publication September 30, 1845. On hand—Complete set and duplicates.
- HAWAIIAN CHINESE NEWS—Chinese; semi-weekly; established 1886 (?). No copies.
- HAWAIIAN COMMERCIAL JOURNAL AND MARITIME REPORT—English; weekly; established 1895. On hand—Incomplete file.
- HAWAIIAN GAZETTE—English; weekly; established January 21, 1865, as the Government Paper. On hand—1865-1869, (excepting 1867); 1886 and 1887. Duplicate Volumes, 1, 2, 4 and 5. December 25, 1888, the Gazette and Pacific Commercial Advertiser combined.
- HAWAIIAN GAZETTE—English; daily; established August 2, 1887; continued till December 25, 1888. On hand—Incomplete set.
- HAWAIIAN HOME JOURNAL—English; 1899. One number only.
- THE HAWAIIAN MONTHLY—English; established January 1884; continued to December, 1884. On hand—Complete set, some duplicates.
- HAWAIIAN SPECTATOR—English; quarterly; established January, 1838, continued to October, 1839. On hand—Complete set.
- HAWAIIAN STAR—English; daily and weekly; established March, 1893.

- HAWAIIAN TIMES—English; established September 6, 1870; ceased publication December 30, 1870. On hand—Complete set and duplicate.
- HAWAII'S YOUNG PEOPLE—English; monthly; established November 1897.
- HILO TRIBUNE—English; weekly; established 1896 in Hilo. On hand—Nearly complete file.
- HINRODE SHIMBUN—Japanese; semi-weekly; established 1895 (?). No copies.
- HOKU LOA KALAVINA—Hawaiian; established 1859. On hand—Pepa 1, 2 and 3.
- HOKU O KE KAI—Hawaiian; monthly; established 1883; edited by H. M. Kalakaua. On hand—A few numbers in 1883-1885.
- HOKU O KA PAKIPIKA—Hawaiian; established 1861 (?); edited by Kalakaua. No copies.
- HONOLULU DAILY PRESS—English; established Sept. 1, 1885. Union of "Saturday Press" and "Morning Guide." On hand—Sept. 1, '85, to Feb. 27, '86.
- HONOLULU DAILY TIMES—English; established January 25, 1890; continued to February 5; ten numbers only; reform campaign paper. On hand—Set and duplicate.
- HONOLULU HOCHI—Japanese; tri-weekly. No copies.
- HONOLULU NEWS—Japanese; semi-weekly. No copies.
- HONOLULU REPUBLICAN—English; daily; established June 14, 1900; ceased publication January 25, 1902.
- HONOLULU TIMES—English; established November 8, 1849; continued to October 30, 1850. On hand—Bound volume.
- HONOLULU TIMES—English; monthly; Oct. 1902
- HUMANE EDUCATOR—English; monthly; established April, 1900; continued to March, 1901.
- THE INDEPENDENT—English; daily; established May 1, 1895. On hand—May 1, 1895, to February 24, 1896.
- IOLANI COLLEGE MAGAZINE—English; 1900. School paper; one number only.
- THE ISLANDER—English; weekly; established March 5, 1875; ceased publication October 29, 1875. On hand—All but May 14; some duplicates.
- JAPANESE WEEKLY NEWS—Japanese; established 1892 (?). No copies.
- KE KARISTIANO—Hawaiian; semi-monthly; established January 1, 1887. On hand—January to December, 1887; some duplicates; missing, December 15.
- KIAI O KA LAHUI—Hawaiian; daily; established 1890. On hand—January 17, 1890, only.
- THE KONA ECHO—English; weekly; Established 1897 Kona, Hawaii; mimeographed. On hand—June—Dec. 1897.
- KOO O HAWAII—Hawaiian; established 1883. On hand—Vol. 1, No. 11, January 2, 1884, only; duplicates of same.
- KUMU HAWAII—Hawaiian; established November, 1834. On hand—November 12, 1834, to December 23, 1835.
- KUOKOA—Hawaiian; weekly; established October, 1861. On hand—Volumes 1, 2, 15 and 32, bound; also, unbound and incomplete, other years to 1898, with some duplicates; missing, years 1864, 1865, 1866, 1877, 1891, 1892, 1899 and succeeding years.
- KUOKOA HOME RULE (HOME RULE REPUBLICAN)—Hawaiian and English; established 1901 (?). No copies.
- KA LAHUI HAWAII—Hawaiian; weekly; established January 1, 1875. On hand—1875-1877, occasional numbers missing; some duplicates.
- KA LAMA HAWAII—Hawaiian; weekly; established February 13, 1834, at Lahainaluna. On hand—1834, and January 1, 1841.
- NA LANI EHIKU—Hawaiian; daily; established 1886 (?). No copies.

- KA LAU OLIVA—Hawaiian; monthly; established 1871 (?). On hand—March–December 1874. 1889–1896 incomplete. Some duplicates.
- KA LEO O KA LAHUI—Hawaiian; daily; established August 19, 1889. On hand—1889–1896 incomplete. Some duplicates.
- THE LIBERAL—English; established 1892. On hand—Oct. 12, '92,—Apr. 15, '93.
- THE LIBERATOR—English; weekly; established November 4, 1900, by Socialist Labor Party. On hand—November 4, 1900, only.
- A LIBERDADE—Portuguese; weekly; established 1900 (?). On hand—A few numbers only.
- KA LOEA KALAIAINA—Hawaiian; daily and weekly; established 1897 (?). No copies.
- O LUSO HAWAIIANO—Portuguese; weekly; established August, 1885. On hand—Aug. '85—Dec. '86. Apr.—Dec. '98, many numbers missing.
- MAILE LEHUA—English; established 1902 (?). Kaahumanu School paper. On hand—One number only.
- MAILE QUARTERLY—English; established 1866. On hand—1866–1868.
- MAILE WREATH—English; established June, 1861, by Mission Children's Society. Manuscript only.
- KA MAKAAINANA—Hawaiian; weekly; established 1887 (?). No copies.
- KA MALAMALAMA—Hawaiian; monthly; established October 1, 1892. On hand—October and November, 1892, and duplicates.
- KA MANAWA—Hawaiian; date unknown. Edited by Kalakaua—No copies.
- THE MAUI NEWS—English; weekly; established 1900 (?). Wailuku, Maui. On hand—December 8, 1900, only.
- THE MIRROR—English; established 1902 (?). No copies.
- THE MONITOR—English; monthly; established January, 1845; continued to December, 1845. On hand—Three sets.
- THE MORNING GUIDE—English; daily; established 1884 (?). Succeeded, September 1, 1885, by Honolulu Daily Press. No copies.
- NATIONAL HERALD, OR KA AHAILONO O KA LAHUI—English and Hawaiian. Campaign paper January 9, 1890 to February 11, 1890. February 4 missing. Some duplicates.
- NEW ERA AND WEEKLY ARGUS—English; weekly; established 1853; continued to 1855. No copies.
- NONANONA—Hawaiian; established 1841; continued to 1845. On hand—Complete set.
- NUHOU, THE HAWAIIAN NEWS—English; semi-weekly; established February 25, 1873; suspended May 23; re-established July 15, 1873; ceased publication April 28, 1874. On hand—Complete set, and two duplicate numbers.
- OAHU FOUNTAIN—English; established 1847. No copies.
- OFFICIAL AND COMMERCIAL RECORD—English; semi-weekly; established March 2, 1903.
- KA OIAIO—Hawaiian; weekly; established May 24, 1889. On hand—1889–1896, very incomplete. Some duplicates.
- THE OWL—English; monthly; established January 14, 1888. On hand—Jan. '88—Aug. '89; September, 1888 missing. Some duplicates.
- THE PACIFIC COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER—English; weekly; established July, 1856. Ceased publication as a weekly December 25, 1888.
- PACIFIC COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER—English; daily, published as a daily since May, 1882.
- PARADISE OF THE PACIFIC—English; monthly; established January, 1888. On hand—1888–1891; 1892, 1894 and 1895, incomplete; 1901–'03, and some duplicates.
- PLANTERS' MONTHLY—English; established April, 1882. On hand—1882, '92 and 1896; 1893 and 1894 missing, other years imperfect. Some duplicates.

- POLYNESIAN**--English; weekly; established June 6, 1840; suspended December 4, 1841. Re-established May 18, 1844; ceased publication February, 1864. Volume VIII--May 17, '51, to May 8, '52, missing; also all after April 30, 1859. Duplicates of earlier volumes.
- PROGRESSIVE EDUCATOR**--English; monthly; established November, 1894; Lahainaluna. On hand--November, 1894, to May, '99
- PUNAHOU JOURNAL**--English; established 1872 (?). School paper. On hand--A few numbers in 1872 and 1873.
- PUNAHOU MIRROR**--English; established April 15, 1875; continued to December 16, 1875. School paper. On hand--Complete set, and some duplicates.
- PUNAHOU REPORTER**--English; established 1872 (?). School paper. No copies.
- PUNCH BOWL**--English; monthly; established July, 1869, ceased publication October, 1870. On hand--August and October, 1869.
- SANDWICH ISLAND GAZETTE**--English; July 30, '36--July 27, '39. On hand--Complete set and duplicate.
- SANDWICH ISLAND MAGAZINE**--English; established 1856. No copies; published ten months only.
- SANDWICH ISLAND MIRROR AND COMMERCIAL GAZETTE**--English; monthly; established 1839. No copies. Opposition paper to the Government and to the Mission.
- SANDWICH ISLAND MONTHLY MAGAZINE**--English; established January, 1856; continued to June, 1856. On hand--Jan.--June, '56.
- SANDWICH ISLANDS NEWS**--English; weekly; established September 2, 1846; continued to 1848. On hand--September 2, 1846--August 25, 1847, November 4, 1847--October 26, 1848, and duplicates.
- SATURDAY PRESS**--English; weekly; established September 4, 1880; amalgamated with "Morning Guide" to form "Honolulu Daily Press", September 1, 1885.
- SEARCHLIGHT**--English; 1899. No copies.
- A SENTINELLA**--Portuguese; weekly; established 1893 (?). On hand--Incomplete file.
- SHIN NIPPON**--Japanese; daily; established 1897 (?). No copies.
- SIDE LIGHTS**--English; monthly; established 1901 (?), in Hilo. On hand--Incomplete file.
- SPOKESMAN**--English; weekly; established January 19, 1902. On hand--A few numbers only.
- STUDENT**--English; monthly; established 1902 (?). School paper, (Mills' Institute for Chinese boys). On hand--Incomplete file.
- SUN CHING BOK WO**--Chinese; semi-weekly; established 1901 (?). No copies.
- SUNDAY ADVERTISER**--English; established January, 1903.
- SUNDAY EAGLE**--English; established 1898 (?). No copies.
- SUNDAY VOLCANO**--English; established February 12, 1899. On hand--Incomplete file.
- THE TIME**--English; weekly; established April 27, 1895. On hand--Apr. 27--Sept. 7, '95.
- THE TOURIST**--English; established March, 1903.
- TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL HAWAIIAN AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY**--1850--1856. On hand--Complete set and duplicates.
- TWENTIETH CENTURY**--Japanese; tri-weekly; established 1893 (?). No copies.
- A UNIAO LUSITANA-HAWAII**--Portuguese; weekly; established 1891 (?). On hand--June--September, 1892; imperfect.
- VOICE OF THE NATION (KA LEO O KA LAHUI)**--English; daily; established January 20, 1890. On hand--Jan. 21--Feb. 5, '90.

VOLCANO—Japanese; established 1895 (?). No copies.  
 WEEKLY ARGUS—English; established 1852; continued to 1853. On hand  
 Jan. 14—July 21, 1852.  
 YAMOTO—Japanese; semi-weekly; established 1895 (?). No copies.  
 YAMOTO SHIMBUN—Japanese; established 1898 (?). No copies.  
 Y. M. C. A. REVIEW—English; established 1894 (?). On hand—Very im-  
 perfect file.

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### CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

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Capt. Nathan Appleton, Boston, Mass.  
 W. N. Armstrong, Honolulu.  
 Hon. C. R. Bishop, San Francisco.  
 Dr. Anton Blomberg, Stockholm, Sweden.  
 E. P. Bond, Mass.  
 Rear-Admiral Geo. Brown, U. S. N.  
 Henry C. Carter, New York.  
 Senator W. E. Chandler, Concord, N. H.  
 Major C. E. Dutton, U. S. A., Chicago.  
 Major Robert Emmett, New York.  
 Dr. Titus Munson Coan, N. Y. City.  
 F. D. Fenton, Esq., Kaipara, New Zealand.  
 Hon. John W. Foster, Washington, D. C.  
 G. D. Gilman Esq., Boston, Mass.  
 M. M. Gower, New Haven, Conn.  
 Rev. J. T. Gulick, Osaka, Japan.  
 Miss Teuira Henry, Honolulu.  
 Rev. R. R. Hoes, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 J. F. Hunnewell, Charleston, Mass.  
 Comthur Milan Paul Iovanovic, Austria.  
 Dr. H. M. Lyman Chicago, Ill.  
 Dr. A. B. Lyons, Detroit, Mich.  
 Otis T. Mason, Washington, D. C.  
 Senator John T. Morgan, Selma, Ala.  
 Mrs. Emma M. Nakuina, Honolulu.



Rev. W. B. Olson, Worcester, Mass.  
 W. Hallett Philips, Washington, D. C.  
 Major J. W. Powell, U. S. A., Washington, D. C.  
 Dr. Emily B. Ryder, Bombay, India.  
 Lieut. W. E. Safford U. S. N.  
 S. Percy Smith, Esq., New Zealand.  
 H. G. Seth-Smith, Esq., Wellington, New Zealand.  
 Appleton Sturges, New York.  
 J. G. Swan, Esq., Port Townsend, Washington.  
 N. L. Tenney, Brooklyn, New York.  
 Edward Tregear, Esq., Wellington, New Zealand.  
 Rev. S. J. Whitmee, England.  
 Hon. James Grant Wilson Washington, D. C.  
 Hon. H. M. Sewall, Honolulu.  
 Mons. L. Vossion, Paris.

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### ACTIVE MEMBERS.

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Ables, L. C.	Alexander, S. T.	Allen, S. C.
Achi, W. C.	Alexander, W. D.	Allen, W. F.
Baldwin, H. P.	Bertram, Bro. G.	Boyd, J. H.
Banning, B. R.	Bishop, Rev. S. E.	Brown, Cecil
Beckwith, Rev. E. G.	Bolte, C.	Brown, C. A.
Beckwith, Miss Martha	Bowen, W. A.	Bryan, Wm. A.
Carter, A. W.	Castle, G. P.	Cooke, A. F.
Carter, G. R.	Castle, J. B.	Cooke, C. M.
Carter, Mrs. H. A. P.	Castle, W. R.	Cooke, Jos. P.
Carter, J. O.	Catton, R.	Cunha, E. S.
Cartwright, Bruce		
Damon, F. W.	Desha, G. L.	*Dimond, W. W.
Damon, S. M.	Dickey, C. H.	Dole, E. P.
Day, Dr. F. R.	Dickey, L. A.	Dole, Hon. S. B.
Dayton, D.	Dillingham, B. F.	Dowsett, J. M.

Emerson, J. S.	Emerson, Dr. N. B.	Emmeluth, J.
Emerson, Mrs. J. S.	Emerson, Rev. O. P.	
Fisher, J. H.	Frear, Hon. W. F.	
Giffard, W. M.	Goodale, W. W.	Graham, W. M.
Haalelea, Mrs. A. A.	Hatch, F. M.	Ho Fon
Hackfeld, J. F.	Henriques, E.	Humphreys, A. S.
Hall, W. W.	Herrick, C. F.	Hustace, C.
Hartwell, A. S.	Hobron, T. W.	
Irwin, W. G.		
Jones, P. C.	Judd, Albert F.	
Lewers, Robert	Lyons, C. J.	Mackintosh, Rev. A.
Logan, D.	McClanahan, E. B.	Magoon, J. A.
Lowrey, F. J.	McGonagle, Chas.	May, Thos.
Lucas, George	McIntyre, H. E.	Mott-Smith, E. A.
Lyle, James		
Nakuina, M. K.	Nolte, H. J.	
Parke, W. C.	Potter, Geo. C.	*Ropert, Rev. F. G.,
Peacock, W. C.	Rhodes, C. L.	Bishop of Panopolis
Pearson, Arthur W.	Robinson, M. P.	Rowell, W. E.
Pond, Percy M.	Rodgers, Dr. C. T.	
Schaefer, F. A.	Smith, Henry	Timmons, L. D.
Schmidt, H. W.	Smith, Walter G.	Towse, Ed.
Searle, J. C.	Smith, W. O.	Thrum, T. G.
Sedgwick, T. F.	Stokes, John	Thurston, L. A.
Smith, G. W.	Swanzy, F. M.	
von Holt, H.		
Walker, T. R.	Whitney, Dr. J. M.	Wilson, W. F.
Wall, W. E.	Wichman, H. F.	Wodehouse, E. H.
Waterhouse, H.	Wilcox, A. S.	Wood, Dr. C. B.
Weaver, P. L.	Wilcox, C.	Wood, Edgar
Westervelt, Rev. W. D.	Wilcox, G. N.	Wundenberg, F.
Whiting, W. A.	Williams, H. H.	

\*Deceased.

The names of members deceased are omitted from the list after one year.

